

“COMO” IN COMMUTE: THE TRAVELS OF A DISCOURSE MARKER ACROSS
LANGUAGES

by

Joseph Kern

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APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

Ana M. Carvalho
Professor of Spanish and Portuguese

11/7/2012
Date

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DEDICATION

For my teachers past and present

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ABSTRACT

The present investigation is a mixed method study combining quantitative and qualitative analyses to explore the use of “como” as a discourse marker in the Spanish spoken in Southern Arizona, based on a corpus of twenty-four sociolinguistic interviews of young male and female Spanish-English bilinguals. In a data set of 1148 occurrences of “como,” 21.3% fulfill a focus discourse function, 2.2% fulfill a quotative discourse function, and 76.5% fulfill a lexical function. The analysis of young Spanish-English bilinguals using “como” in Spanish to fulfill discourse functions of “like” in English sheds light on how bilinguals structure discourse by drawing from both languages. The results of this study on the diffusion of the focus and quotative “como” to another Spanish-English bilingual community add to our knowledge of how discourse markers can travel both within and between communities and across languages.

1. INTRODUCTION

More than two decades ago, Underhill (1988) and Romaine and Lange (1991) characterized the grammaticalized discourse functions of “like” in American English as a change in progress, led by young female speakers. Since then, the use of “like” as a discourse marker has not only spread across American English dialects, but also to other English-speaking countries. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) traced the spread of “like” to Canada, Anderson (2001) to Great Britain, and Miller (2009) to Australia and New Zealand. The use of “como” in Spanish as a discourse marker equivalent to “like” has followed a similar pattern. First detected in Spanish-English bilingual communities (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2007, Said-Mohand, 2008), it has now been documented in Spanish monolingual dialects (Jørgensen & Stenström, 2009).

Building upon this previous research of discursive “como,” the present study combines quantitative and qualitative research methods to explore the use of “como” as a discourse marker in the Spanish spoken in Southern Arizona, based on a corpus of twenty-four sociolinguistic interviews of young male and female Spanish-English bilinguals. In the speech of these bilinguals, the discourse marker “como” mirrors the focus and quotative discourse functions borrowed from “like” in English, as illustrated in (1) and (2) below. Fulfilling the same discourse function of the focus “like” in English, the focus “como” marks the most important information in the sentence.

- (1) Yo digo que **como** el inglés nada más lo uso **como** para la escuela, este, y el resto del tiempo con mis amigos, así, es español, muy frecuente (13M20D).

*I say that **like** English, I only use it **like** for school, and the rest of the time with my friends, it frequently is Spanish.*

In (1), a young male bilingual uses “como” to fulfill the focus discourse function of “like” in English, emphasizing that he only speaks English in school.

The quotative “como,” which fulfills the same discourse function as the quotative “like” in English, introduces internal or reported speech.

- (2) Aquí en Tucson si no hablas español es **como** “¿Cómo puedes vivir en Tucson sin hablar español?” (8F18T).

*Here in Tucson if you do not speak Spanish it's **like**, “How do you live in Tucson without speaking Spanish?”*

In (2), a young female bilingual uses “como” as a quotative, introducing internal speech.

This study will demonstrate that both male and female Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona are using “como” in Spanish to fulfill discourse functions borrowed from “like” in English as Sánchez-Muñoz (2007) first documented in Southern California and Said-Mohand (2008) in Florida. The analysis of young Spanish-English bilinguals

using “como” in Spanish to fulfill the discourse functions of “like” in English sheds light on how bilinguals structure discourse by drawing from both languages and adds to our knowledge of how discourse markers can travel both within and between communities and across languages. The following sections on the use of “como” in Spanish, the use of “like” in English, and the use of discourse markers in bilingual communities begin to lay the foundation for the present study of the discursive “como” in the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona.

1.1 The Use of “Como” in Spanish

The Real Academia Española classifies “como” in Spanish as an adverb, a conjunction, and a preposition, but not as a discourse marker. According to Moreno-Ayora (1991), “como” has nine lexical functions in modern Spanish, listed in (3) to (11).

Interrogation: The interrogative “como” appears in questions, as shown in (3):

(3) ¿**Cómo** entiendes el acto creativo?

How do you understand the creative process?

(Moreno-Ayora, 1991:79)

Comparison: The comparative “como” expresses a comparison and often appears in expressions of equality with “tan” (“as”) or “tanto” (“as much as”), as shown in (4):

(4) Alfredo tiene tantos libros **como** Pedro.

Alfredo has as many books as Pedro.

(Moreno-Ayora, 1991:17)

Modality: The modal “como” denotes means, manner, or method, as shown in (5):

(5) **Como** profesor, **como** alcalde y **como** vecino he recibido una lección.

As a professor, as a mayor, and as a neighbor, I have received a lesson.

(Moreno-Ayora, 1991: 59)

Causality: The causal “como” expresses a cause, as shown in (6):

(6) **Como** te gusta jugar, esta tarde puedes hacerlo a la ruleta.

Since you like to play, this afternoon you can do it with roulette.

(Moreno-Ayora, 1991:91)

Temporality: The temporal “como” expresses time, as shown in (7), and also appears in the expression “tan pronto como” (“as soon as”):

(7) Debe estar aprobada el próximo 31 de marzo, **como** muy tarde.

It should be approved by next March 31 at the latest.

(Moreno-Ayora, 1991: 58)

Conditionality: The conditional “como” expresses a condition, as shown in (8), and also appears in the expression “como si” (“as if”):

(8) **Como** el inspector venga, nos pedirá el libro de registro.

If the inspector comes, he will request the book of records from us.

(Moreno-Ayora, 1991:108)

Concessivity: The concessive “como” is a conjunction that appears in idiomatic expressions, as shown in (9):

(9) Sea **como** sea.

Be that as it may.

(Moreno-Ayora, 1991:13)

Exemplification: The exemplificative “como” specifies a general or abstract noun that precedes it, as shown in (10):

- (10) La circulación en varias ciudades, **como** Oviedo, Pamplona o Palma de Mallorca, se ve dificultada por la nieve acumulada y por el hielo.

Traffic in such cities as Oviedo, Pamplona or Palma de Mallorca is seen as more difficult because of accumulated snow and ice.

(Moreno-Ayora, 1991: 53)

Approximation: The approximate “como” expresses an approximate idea of a concept, as shown in (11):

- (11) He dormido algo así **como** doce o trece horas.

I have slept like twelve or thirteen hours.

(Moreno-Ayora, 1991: 40)

By outlining these nine lexical functions, Moreno-Ayora (1991:7) claims that “como” represents one of the most common words in Spanish, and today there is an even stronger intensification in its use. This classification also demonstrates that “como” is not only a content word in Spanish, but also a function word.

Traugott (1995: 2) defines grammaticalization as the process in which a content word acquires a new grammatical function in pragmatic or morphosyntactic contexts. She observes that discourse markers follow a diachronic pattern in their development along an adverbial cline, as illustrated below.

VAdv > IAdv > DM

Adverbs of manner first acquire a new grammatical function at the phrase level, followed by the acquisition of discourse functions at the discourse level. In Spanish, “como” has undergone grammaticalization at the phrase level to acquire the lexical functions of exemplification and approximation outlined above. However, neither the Real Academia Española nor any other prescriptive grammars have recorded discourse functions of “como.” This evidence indicates that “like” in English has undergone one phase more than “como” in Spanish in the grammaticalization process.

1.2 The Use of “Like” in English

Unlike “como” in Spanish, “like” in English not only has acquired the functions of exemplification and approximation through grammaticalization but also discourse functions. Several studies including Meehan (1991), Romaine & Lange (1991), and Buchstaller (2001) confirm this path for “like” in English monolingual communities with examples from longitudinal corpora. Through grammaticalization, the comparative

lexical function of “like” first acquired lexical functions of approximation and exemplification at the phrase level, followed by the acquisition of the focus and quotative discourse functions at the discourse level.

Schourup (1985: 42) first identified “like” as a discourse marker, and argued that it expresses “an unspecified minor nonequivalence of what is said and what is meant.” Although many studies have adopted this definition, including Siegel (2002: 39), it does not provide a distinction between the discourse function of “like” and its lexical function of approximation. Anderson (2001: 233) slightly modifies Schourup’s definition stating that “like” can “signal that a speaker is opting for a loose interpretation of his or her beliefs.” However, Anderson’s definition is fruitless without asking the speaker what he or she truly means, defeating the purpose of the sociolinguistic interview (Labov, 1972). Fuller (2003: 369) observes that the approximate function of “like” is currently in the process of being re-analyzed as a focus marker. According to Underhill (1988: 238), the discourse function of focus marks “the most significant new information in a sentence—often, the point of the sentence.” This definition provides a clear distinction between the discourse function of “like” and its lexical function of approximation.

Schourup (1985: 45-6) also proposed that “like” can introduce an “internal citation,” and noted that it has equivalents in Hittite, Sanskrit, Tok Pisin, Buang, and Lahu. This discourse function of “like” has come to be known as the quotative “like” in future studies (Blyth et al., 1990; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Dailey O’Cain, 2000; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004). Blyth et al. (1990: 215) further develop Schourup’s definition by stating that the

quotative function of “like” “allows the speaker to express an attitude, reaction, or thought, as well as something actually said.” Romaine & Lange (1991: 227) propose that the quotative function of “like” introduces reported speech and “permits the speaker to express the reality of an event indirectly.”

Studies of “like” as a discourse marker not only analyze its focus and quotative discourse functions, but also its use according to age and gender. In reference to the variation of “like” according to age, younger speakers employ “like” as a discourse marker more than older speakers (Blyth et al., 1990; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Dailey O’Cain, 2000; Anderson, 2001; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004). Although young people use “like” more than older speakers, D’Arcy (2007: 397) dispels the myth that “like” is used only by young people, and confirms that older people use it too. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999), Anderson (2001), and Tagliamonte & D’Arcy (2004) conclude that the focus and quotative “like” enter into a community in the speech of adolescents and then rapidly diffuses.

In contrast to the use of “like” according to age, studies of “like” according to gender demonstrate conflicting results. Although Romaine & Lange (1991) conclude that women use “like” as a discourse marker more than men, Ferrara & Bell (1995) find that men use “like” as much as women do, and Dailey O’Cain (2000) concludes that although speakers perceive that women use “like” more than men, both men and women use “like” with the same frequency. D’Arcy (2007) finds that the use of “like” according to gender depends on the discourse function, with women using the quotative “like” more than men, but men using the focus “like” more than women. The chronological analysis of

these studies reveals yet another example of women as the leaders of linguistic change. According to Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004: 508), when the use of "like" as a discourse marker diffuses in a community and its use increases, women tend to use "like" more than men. After "like" has spread in a community, men eventually use the discourse marker with the same frequency.

The use of "like" as a discourse marker has not only spread across American English dialects, but also to other English-speaking countries. Tagliamonte & Hudson (1999) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004) have traced the diffusion of "like" to Canada, Anderson (2001) to Great Britain, and Miller (2009) to Australia and New Zealand. Few studies, however, have examined "like" and its lexical equivalent in bilingual communities.

1.3 Discourse Markers in Bilingual Communities

Bilinguals not only borrow content words from their linguistic repertoires, but also function words (Hill & Hill, 1986; Brody 1987, 1995). Hill & Hill (1986) identified incorporated function words from Spanish, including "como," in the syncretic language of Mexicano in the Malinche towns in Mexico. Brody (1987, 1995) confirmed the findings of Hill & Hill (1986) and concluded that bilinguals in Mayan and Spanish not only borrow content words but also function words including discourse markers, but not "como" in Spanish.

The borrowing of discourse markers in bilingual communities most closely correlates with insertion, which Muysken (2000: 3) identifies as the incorporation of material from one language into the structure of another language. However, since discourse markers represent function words, their borrowing can also result in congruent lexicalization, which Muysken (2000: 3) defines as the incorporation of material from two languages into a shared grammatical structure. Lipski (2005: 7) confirms that the incorporation of the “so” in English into Spanish-only discourse can result in insertion or congruent lexicalization.

In Spanish-English bilingual communities in the United States, Torres (2011: 494) summarizes that bilinguals incorporate many discourse markers from both languages in their speech. Aaron (2004) determines that Spanish-English bilinguals in New Mexico use “so” and “entonces” for the same functions they exercise in both languages. Moreover, Torres (2002) and Torres & Potowski (2008) conclude that both sets of discourse markers co-exist in Spanish-English bilingual communities in New York and Chicago respectively; however, in their corpus, discourse markers in English are replacing their Spanish equivalents among third generation speakers.

This study of “como” and “like” in Southern Arizona reveals the borrowing not of discourse markers but rather of discourse functions. Originally documented by Sankoff et al. (1997) in a study of “comme” and “like” among French-English bilinguals in Montreal, the use of the lexical equivalent in one language to fulfill the functions of a discourse marker in another language has also been found by Zavala (2001) with “pues” and “-mi” among Spanish-Quechua bilinguals in Peru. Among Spanish-English

bilinguals, the borrowing of discourse functions has been recorded by Sánchez-Muñoz (2007) in a study of “como” and “like” in Southern California and Said-Mohand (2007, 2008) in Florida with “tú sabes” and “y’know” in addition to “como” and “like.”

Contact with English “like” has been claimed to be the reason behind the discourse functions of “comme” in Canadian French (Sankoff et al., 1997) and “como” in Spanish in the United States (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2007; Said-Mohand, 2008) given that this innovative use had not previously been documented in prescriptive grammars or in monolingual communities. However, Poplack & Levey (2010: 398) propose that a candidate for a truly contact-induced linguistic change has to be absent or conditioned differently in the non-contact variety. According to Poplack and Levey (2012: 398), in order to conclude that the innovative use of the equivalent of “like” in bilingual communities is the result of contact with English, the quotative and focus discourse functions of “like” must be absent in non-contact varieties. In Montreal, the effect of contact with English on the current use of “comme” is easy to conclude. Since “comme” in monolingual French, unlike “like” in English and “como” in Spanish, has not acquired the lexical functions of approximation and exemplification, a diachronic pattern of grammaticalization predicts that it would first acquire an adverbial function at the phrase level, and only after acquire discourse functions. Since “como” in monolingual Spanish has acquired the lexical functions of approximation and exemplification, the argument that the use of “como” as a discourse marker results solely from contact with English and not from internal tendencies is harder to conclude. Furthermore, in a corpus study of young adolescents in Madrid, Jørgensen & Stenström (2009) found examples of “como”

used to fulfill the discourse functions of “like.” Although the corpus does not include information about the knowledge of English or the social networks of these speakers, the evidence of “como” used as a discourse marker in a non-contact variety suggests that the innovative use of “como” in Spanish-English bilingual communities may not be the result of contact per se, but an internal change in the language as the result of grammaticalization.

Building upon the results of previous studies of the discursive “como” in Spanish-English bilingual communities in the United States (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2007; Said-Mohand, 2008), the present study combines quantitative and qualitative research methods to document the use of the discursive “como” in Southern Arizona. Before embarking, it is first necessary to comment on the organization of the thesis. The manuscript is divided into six chapters. The following chapter defines the variable of the present study and summarizes the results of previous studies of the discursive “como” in both bilingual and monolingual communities. The third chapter on methodology outlines the methods of data collection and analysis of the present study. This chapter is followed by the fourth and fifth chapters, which combine the frameworks of variation and discourse analysis to illustrate the use of the discursive “como” in Southern Arizona. The sixth chapter is reserved for conclusions. Contributing to our knowledge of how bilinguals structure discourse by drawing from both languages, the present study seeks to answer how Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona are using the discursive “como” to structure bilingual discourse.

2. “COMO” AS A DISCOURSE MARKER

2.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies and defines the discursive “como.” Beginning with a definition of discourse markers and a list of their properties, this chapter seeks to differentiate between the discursive “como” and its lexical equivalents by utilizing a criterion that distinguishes the discourse level from the sentence level. The chapter concludes with a summary of the use of the discursive “como” in Florida and Southern California that will serve for comparison with the results of the present study.

2.2 Discourse Markers and their Lexical Equivalents

Discourse markers, or “sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk” (Schriffin, 1987: 31), have been studied in several varieties of Spanish. Table 1 outlines previous studies conducted in Spanish including “como.”

Table 1: Discourse Markers in Spanish

Discourse Marker	Studies
ahora	Silva-Corvalán, 2001
bueno	Serrano, 1999; Travis, 2005
claro	Ocampo, 2006
como	Sánchez Muñoz, 2007; Said-Mohand,

	2008; Jørgensen & Stenström, 2009
digo	Torres, 2002
¿eh?	García Vizcaino, 2005
entonces	Torres, 2002; Travis, 2005; Aaron, 2004; Torres & Potowski, 2008
¿no?	García Vizcaino, 2005
o sea	Schwenter, 1996; Travis, 2005
pero	Porroche, 1996
porque	Torres, 2002
pues	Porroche, 1996; Zavala, 2001; Travis, 2005
tú sabes	Torres, 2002; Said-Mohand, 2007
y	Torres, 2002

All of the discourse markers outlined above have lexical equivalents that do not perform discourse functions. Brinton (1990: 46-7) outlines several properties of discourse markers that distinguish them from their lexical equivalents:

Discourse markers are almost exclusively a feature of oral rather than written discourse; in oral discourse, they appear with high frequency, but are stylistically deplored...They seem to be optional rather than obligatory features.

Applying the properties of Brinton (1990) to a criterion for distinguishing discourse markers and their lexical equivalents, Fuller (2003: 186) proposes that if discourse markers are removed from an utterance, the grammaticality of the utterance must still be intact and the semantic relationship between the elements they connect must remain the same. This study adopts the criterion of Goss & Salmons (2000: 482) who simply state that discourse markers “represent content morphemes at the discourse level, but not at the sentence level.” Following the criterion of Goss & Salmons (2000), the

following examples from the data set of “como” by young Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona illustrate the distinction between discourse markers and their lexical equivalents.

2.3 The Discursive “Como” and its Lexical Equivalents

Illustrating a case of “como” used at the lexical level, a male bilingual compares himself and his future children in (12). Since the comparative “como” has meaning at the sentence level, it fulfills a lexical function.

- (12) Otras generaciones, tal vez mis hijos no van a ser tan mexicanos **como** yo soy (24M21Y).

*Other generations, perhaps my children will not be as Mexican **as** I am.*

Similarly, in (13), a male bilingual uses “como” to explain why his friends try to speak Spanish with him. Since the causal “como” has meaning at the sentence level, it fulfills a lexical function.

- (13) Pues, mis amigos mexicanos son más de español, pero hay algunos que son mexicanos, pero que hablan más en el inglés y **como** saben que hablo

más en español, pues, tratan de hablar español conmigo, pero lo mezclan, pues (14M19N).

*Well, my Mexican friends speak more Spanish, but there are some that are Mexican, but they speak more in English and **since** they know that I speak more in Spanish, well, they try to speak Spanish with me, but they mix it, well.*

Another example of the use of lexical “como” is found in (14), when a female bilingual uses “como” to approximate how often she goes to Mexico. Once again, since the approximate “como” has meaning at the sentence level, it fulfills a lexical function.

(14) I: ¿Con qué frecuencia vas a México?

P: Voy **como** una vez al mes (2F19D).

I: How often do you go to Mexico?

*P: I go **about** every month.*

In sum, the functions of comparison, causality, and approximation of “como” outlined in the examples above are lexical because they have meaning at the sentence level and therefore do not satisfy the criterion of Goss & Salmons (2000). In contrast to the previous examples, in (15), a male bilingual uses “como” to emphasize that he only speaks English in school. Fulfilling the same discourse function of the focus “like” in

English, the focus “como” marks the most important information in the sentence. Instead of expressing meaning at the sentence level, the focus “como” fulfills a discourse function.

- (15) Yo digo que **como** el inglés nada más lo uso **como** para la escuela, este, y el resto del tiempo con mis amigos, así, es español, muy frecuente (13M20D).

*I say that **like** English, I only use it **like** for school, and the rest of the time with my friends, it frequently is Spanish.*

In (16), a female bilingual uses “como” to introduce her opinion about people who do not know Spanish in Tucson. The quotative “como,” which fulfills the same discourse function as the quotative “like” in English, introduces internal or reported speech. Since the quotative “como” does not have meaning at the sentence level, it also fulfills a discourse function.

- (16) Aquí en Tucson si no hablas español es **como** “¿Cómo puedes vivir en Tucson sin hablar español?” (8F18T).

*Here in Tucson if you do not speak Spanish it's **like**, “How do you live in Tucson without speaking Spanish?”*

Previous studies of the discursive “como” used by young Spanish-English bilinguals (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2007; Said-Mohand, 2008) underscore the importance of distinguishing between discourse markers and their lexical equivalents. Sánchez-Muñoz (2007) analyzed the use of “como” to fulfill the empty punctor and quotative functions. The term “empty punctor” to describe the focus function of “como” suggests that the use of “como” as a discourse marker is empty or meaningless, but the qualitative analysis of this study will demonstrate that this is not the case. For the purpose of the quantitative analysis, however, the use of the term “focus” instead of “empty punctor” is simply a difference in terminology. The empty punctor and quotative discourse functions of “como” do not have meaning at the sentence level and therefore fulfill the criterion of Goss & Salmons (2000) adopted in the current study.

Said-Mohand (2008) classifies “como” according to ten functions including general approximation, numerical approximation, exemplification, expletive, reformulation, ability, causality, direct citation, finality, and code-switching. Following the criterion Goss & Salmons (2000) adopted in the current study, only three of Said-Mohand’s ten functions represent discourse functions. The discourse functions of expletive and reformulation correspond to the focus function of the present study, and the discourse function of direct citation corresponds to the quotative discourse function. According to the criterion of Goss & Salmons (2000), the remaining functions of general approximation, numerical approximation, exemplification, ability, causality and finality are not discourse functions but rather lexical functions because “como” has a meaning at the sentence level. Moreover, although Said-Mohand (2008: 85) argues that “como”

produces codeswitching, this represents neither a discourse nor a lexical function of “como” in Spanish, but a mere trigger.

2.4 The Use of the Discursive “Como”

In addition to classifying discourse functions of “como,” previous studies have analyzed the use of the discursive “como” according to register, gender, generation, and Spanish proficiency. Sánchez-Muñoz (2007) analyzed the use of discursive “como” according to three registers: 1) class presentations in an academic setting; 2) formal interviews on controversial topics such as the war in Iraq, immigration, etc.; and 3) informal conversations recorded by the speakers themselves without the researcher present. Across the three registers from the class presentations in an academic setting to the formal interviews to the informal conversations, the percentages of “como” to fulfill the empty punctator discourse function increased from 5.8% to 10.3% to 23.2%, while the percentages of “como” to fulfill the quotative discourse function increased from 0% to 2.5% to 3.8%. Sánchez-Muñoz (2007) concluded that the discursive “como” was conditioned by register.

Said-Mohand (2008) analyzed the use of “como” by young Spanish-English bilinguals according to gender, generation, and Spanish proficiency. Said-Mohand (2008) did not find a significant relationship between the use of the discursive “como” and generation and Spanish proficiency, but he observed that female participants used “como” to fulfill the quotative discourse function (94.1%) more than male participants

(5.9%). However, these results must be taken with caution because the study has twice as many female participants.

The discursive “como” has not only been documented in the speech of young Spanish-English bilinguals, but also young Spanish monolinguals. Jørgensen & Stenström (2009) compared the frequencies of the use of “como” in Madrid and “like” in London as discourse markers in the speech of young Spanish and English monolinguals. Although they did not classify the discourse functions of “como,” Jørgensen & Stenström (2009) found that the discursive “como” represented .14% (578/400,000) of the words in the corpus in Madrid, while the discursive “like” represented .8% (3,470/431,528) of the words in the corpus in London. Although the percentages of the use of “como” and “like” as discourse markers are very small, Jørgensen & Stenström (2009) concluded that young adolescents in Madrid used “como” as a discourse marker, but less frequently than their counterparts in London used “like.” The authors argue that the innovative use of “como” by adolescents in Madrid results from grammaticalization. Since the corpus does not include information about the knowledge of English of the Madrid participants or their social networks, it is not possible to investigate if the use of “como” as a discourse marker could result from contact with English.

The present study expands this research of the discursive “como” to the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona. The quantitative and qualitative analyses of the present study document the use of the focus and quotative “como” by twenty-four young Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona and seek to explain how these young bilinguals use the discursive “como” to structure bilingual discourse.

The following chapter outlines the methods of data collection and analysis for the present corpus.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter on methodology outlines the methods of data collection and analysis for the present study. Beginning with a discussion of the methods for data collection, the chapter also includes information about the participants in the study including gender, age, and use of Spanish and English. Since discourse is constructed by two participants, the chapter also includes information about the interviewer. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the quantitative and qualitative methods for data analysis.

3.2 Methods of Data Collection

The data set of “como” in this study comes from twenty-four sociolinguistic interviews of young Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona. The forty-minute interviews took place on the campus of the University of Arizona during the spring and fall semesters of 2012 in an informal environment where many students congregate when they are not in class. The investigator recruited participants by first interviewing students that he personally knew, and continued by interviewing their friends and classmates through the snowball technique. The interviews were conducted in Spanish, but some participants code-switched back and forth between Spanish and English. The topics of the interviews included personal narratives triggered by questions about family and

childhood, as well as questions about the participants' use of Spanish and their attitudes toward English and Spanish. All of the examples of “como” in the interviews were transcribed including the context necessary to classify the lexical or discourse function of the token as outlined in the previous chapter.

3.3 Participants

The participants, twelve female and twelve male, are students at the University of Arizona between eighteen and twenty-five years old with a mean age of twenty years old.

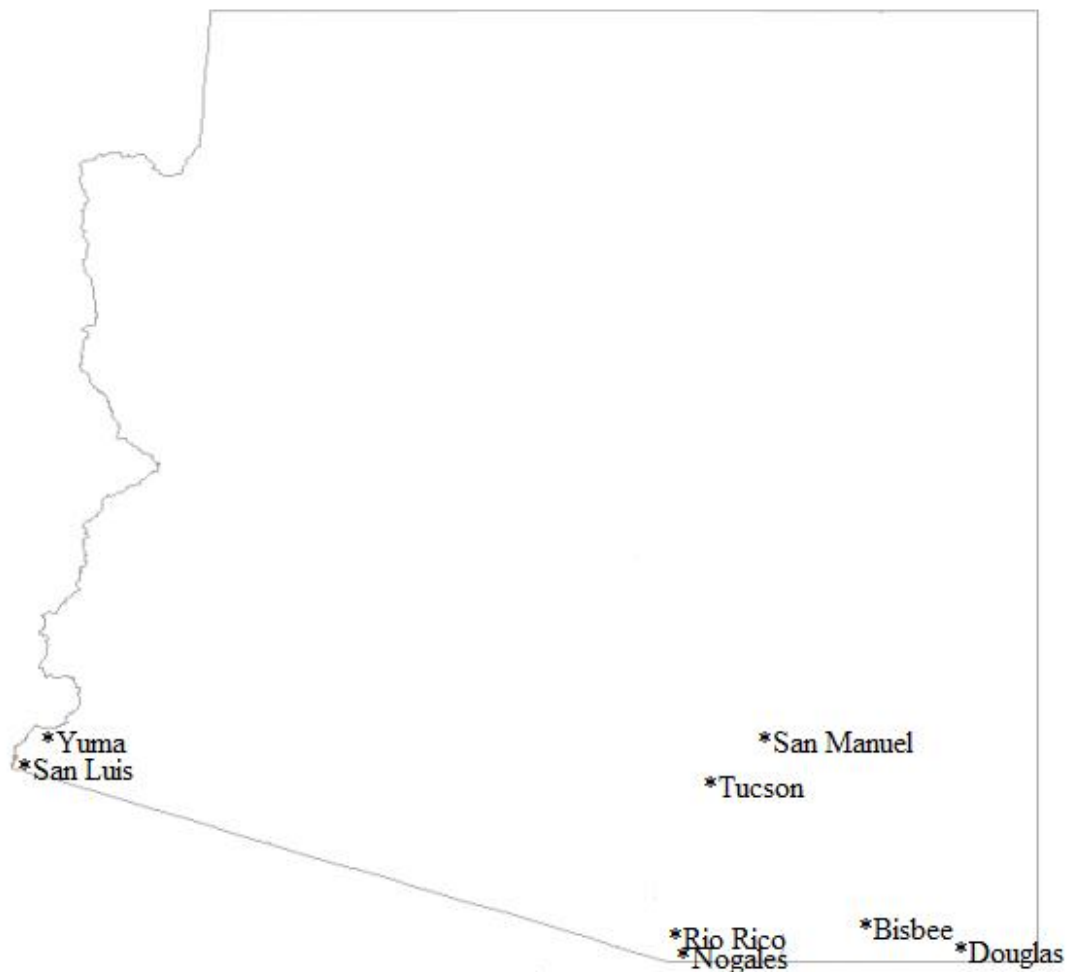
Table 2 contains the gender and age of each participant.

Table 2: Participant Information

Participant	Gender	Age
1	Female	20
2	Female	19
3	Female	20
4	Female	20
5	Female	20
6	Female	25
7	Female	20
8	Female	18
9	Female	19
10	Female	20
11	Female	20
12	Female	20
13	Male	20
14	Male	19
15	Male	20
16	Male	20
17	Male	21
18	Male	23

19	Male	24
20	Male	19
21	Male	20
22	Male	20
23	Male	20
24	Male	21

The University of Arizona is a large, public university in the Southwest with approximately 40,000 students. Considering the size of the University of Arizona, it was not only important that the participants were students at the University of Arizona and Spanish-English bilinguals, but also members of the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona. Although quantitative evidence suggests that the use of “like” as a discourse marker is acquired during preadolescence first appearing in the speech of seven to eight year olds (Levey, 2006), Tagliamonte (2005: 1904) observes that “like” as a discourse marker it is not “used in abundance” until high school. Given what has been found for “like,” it is hypothesized that the same would be expected for “como.” Although some participants were not born in the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona, all of the participants went to high school in this community in one of the following cities: Bisbee, Douglas, Nogales, Río Rico, San Luis, San Manuel, Tucson, and Yuma. Figure 1 is a map of Arizona that includes the geographical locations of the high school cities of the participants.

Figure 1: Map of Arizona

Considering Arizona's geographical location north of Mexico, Southern Arizona has a large population of Hispanic or Latino origin, and Spanish is spoken in many homes. All of the cities in Southern Arizona outlined above belonged to Mexico before the Gadsden Purchase of 1854. Table 3 contains the percentage of the population of Hispanic or Latino Origin for each city from the 2010 Census.

Table 3: Population of Hispanic or Latino Origin in Southern Arizona

City	Population of Hispanic or Latino Origin
Bisbee	36.2%
Douglas	82.6%
Nogales	95%
Río Rico	85.3%
San Luis	98.7%
San Manuel	49.9%
Tucson	41.6%
Yuma	54.8%

With the exception of Bisbee, at least 40% of the population of each of these cities in Southern Arizona is of Hispanic or Latino origin. The female participant who went to high school in Bisbee commuted from nearby Naco, Arizona, with 82.5% of the population of Hispanic or Latino origin.

All of the participants in the study self-identified Spanish as their first language. While the majority of participants use only Spanish with their parents, they use both Spanish and English with their siblings and friends. Table 4 contains the language(s) that the participants reported as using during the interviews with their parents, siblings, and friends.

Table 4: Language(s) used with Parents, Siblings, and Friends

Participant	With Parents	With Sibings	With Friends
1	Spanish/English	English	Spanish/English
2	Spanish	NA	Spanish/English
3	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English

4	Spanish/English	Spanish/English	Spanish/English
5	Spanish	Spanish/English	Spanish/English
6	Spanish/English	English	English
7	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English
8	Spanish/English	English	English
9	Spanish	Spanish/English	English
10	Spanish	Spanish/English	Spanish/English
11	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English
12	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English
13	Spanish/English	Spanish/English	Spanish/English
14	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English
15	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English
16	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English
17	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English
18	Spanish	Spanish/English	Spanish/English
19	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English
20	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish/English
21	Spanish	English	English
22	Spanish	English	Spanish/English
23	Spanish/English	English	English
24	Spanish	English	English

According to self-reports during the interviews, the majority of participants (75%, 18/24) speak only Spanish with their parents, while the remaining participants (25%, 6/24) speak both Spanish and English. With siblings, 42% (10/24) of the participants speak only Spanish, 25% (6/24) speak both Spanish and English, and 29% (7/24) speak only English (one participant does not have siblings). With friends, the majority of participants (75%, 18/24) speak both Spanish and English, while the others (25%, 6/24) speak only English.

3.4 The Interviewer

When analyzing discourse in interviews, the identity of the interviewer is just as important as the identity of the participants. The male interviewer is twenty-five years old and was born and raised in Kentucky, where he learned Spanish as a second language. He is currently a graduate student in Hispanic Linguistics and a Spanish instructor at the University of Arizona and has lived in the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona for two years. Perhaps the interviewer's age is the most that he has in common with the participants in the study; however, the fact that the interviewer is a relative outsider was not a disadvantage. The construction of the discourse by two bilinguals with different backgrounds added depth to the qualitative analysis of this study.

3.5 Methods of Data Analysis

The analysis of discourse markers provides several challenges because discourse markers by definition do not have meaning at the sentence level (Goss & Salmons, 2000: 482). Tagliamonte (2012: 269) observes that conflict often arises between discourse analysts who focus on different functions of forms in the context of talk and variationists who focus on the patterns of forms with common functions. This study attempts to combine the frameworks of variation and discourse analysis because it is only with both, that the "big picture" of the use of the discursive "como" in Southern Arizona is fully revealed.

The quantitative analysis of the present study seeks to determine to what degree the discursive “como” has entered into the Spanish of Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona. Within the variationist framework, Tagliamonte (2012: 273) proposes that the analyst record if a discourse marker is present or absent within each syntactic position in which it could appear. In the present study, it is not possible to apply the variationist framework of Tagliamonte (2012) to all of the examples of the discursive “como” because the syntactic positions in which the focus “como” may appear are not known. In the place of this approach, this study follows the methodology of the quantitative analysis of Sánchez Muñoz (2008) and calculates the percentages of “como” to fulfill focus, quotative and lexical functions. Although the percentages of the participants’ use of the focus and quotative “como” may be skewed by the participants’ use of the lexical “como,” this methodology permits the investigator to compare the use of both the focus and quotative “como” by young Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona and Southern California. Moreover, the degree that the discursive “como” has entered into the Spanish of these bilinguals can be determined by comparing these percentages in longitudinal corpora.

The qualitative analysis seeks to explore how young Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona use the discursive “como” to structure bilingual discourse. By analyzing examples of the discursive “como” in context, the qualitative analysis examines the possibility that the discursive “como” in Spanish has the potential to become a stylistic marker by paralleling the same path as the use of “like” as a discourse marker in English. Romaine & Lange (1991:242) first identified examples of “like”

English to establish footing, which Goffman (1979: 4) defines as “a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance.” Some Spanish-English bilinguals in the present corpus are using the discursive “como” to do the same. Moreover, the use of the discursive “como” which combines a Spanish word and English functions may index a stance of bilingual identity which Jaffe (2009: 3) defines as “taking up a position with respect to the form or content of one’s utterance.” The qualitative analysis of how two interlocutors construct and negotiate local meaning illustrates that discourse holds much more meaning than the words that comprise it. The following chapters present the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the use of the discursive “como” in Southern Arizona.

4. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DISCURSIVE “COMO”

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the quantitative analysis of the present study that provides a global perspective on the use of the focus and quotative “como” by twenty-four young Spanish-English bilinguals from Southern Arizona. By calculating the percentages of the use of the focus, quotative, and lexical “como,” this chapter explores the degree to which “como” has become incorporated in the speech of these Spanish-English bilinguals. The chapter concludes with a comparison of the use of the focus, quotative, and lexical “como” in Southern Arizona and other bilingual and monolingual communities (Sánchez Muñoz, 2007; Said-Mohand, 2008; Jørgensen & Stenström, 2009) and proposes that the discursive “como” may be spreading to these communities in the same way that the discursive “like” has traveled to Canada (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004), Great Britain (Anderson, 2001), and Australia and New Zealand (Miller, 2009).

4.2 The Use of the Discursive “Como” in Southern Arizona

In order to quantify the use of “como” among participants, each occurrence of “como” was extracted from the corpus of twenty-four sociolinguistic interviews and classified as focus, quotative, or lexical as illustrated in the second chapter. Table 5

includes the frequencies and percentages of “como” to fulfill focus, quotative, and lexical functions for each participant.

Table 5: The Use of “Como” to fulfill Focus, Quotative, and Lexical Functions for Young Spanish-English Bilinguals in Southern Arizona

Participant	Focus	Quotative	Lexical	Total	
Female Bilinguals	1	8/36 (22.2%)	0/36 (0%)	28/36 (77.8%)	36
	2	12/63 (19.0%)	5/63 (7.9%)	46/63 (73.0%)	63
	3	8/59 (13.6%)	1/59 (1.7%)	50/59 (84.7%)	59
	4	5/41 (12.2%)	0/41 (0%)	36/41 (87.8%)	41
	5	16/44 (36.4%)	1/44 (2.2%)	27/44 (61.4%)	44
	6	16/63 (25.4%)	1/63 (1.6%)	46/63 (73.0%)	63
	7	5/36 (13.9%)	1/36 (2.8%)	30/36 (83.3%)	36
	8	33/96 (34.4%)	2/96 (2.1%)	61/96 (63.5%)	96
	9	5/19 (26.4%)	0/19 (0%)	14/19 (73.7%)	19
	10	27/135 (20.0%)	10/135 (7.4%)	98/135 (72.5%)	135
	11	12/42 (28.5%)	2/42 (4.8%)	28/42 (66.7%)	42
	12	8/48 (16.7%)	0/48 (0%)	40/48 (83.3%)	48
Total	155/682 (22.7%) stdv: 8.96	23/682 (3.4%) stdv: 2.91	504/682 (73.9%) stdv: 21.70	682	
Male Bilinguals	13	9/34 (26.5%)	0/34 (0%)	25/34 (73.5%)	34
	14	2/47 (4.3%)	1/47 (2.1%)	44/47 (93.6%)	47
	15	5/27 (18.5%)	0/27 (0%)	22/27 (81.5%)	27
	16	1/48 (2.1%)	0/48 (0%)	47/48 (97.9%)	48
	17	4/27 (14.8%)	0/27 (0%)	23/27 (85.2%)	27
	18	14/47 (29.8%)	1/47 (2.1%)	32/47 (68.1%)	47
	19	4/29 (13.8%)	0/29 (0%)	25/29 (86.2%)	29
	20	4/21 (19.0%)	0/21 (0%)	17/21 (81.0%)	21
	21	7/38 (18.4%)	0/38 (0%)	31/38 (82.6%)	38
	22	2/17 (11.8%)	0/17 (0%)	15/17 (88.2%)	17
	23	12/54 (22.2%)	0/54 (0%)	42/54 (77.8%)	54
	24	26/77 (33.8%)	0/77 (0%)	51/77 (66.2%)	77
Total	90/466 (19.3%) stdv: 7.09	2/466 (0.4%) stdv: 0.38	374/466 (80.3%) stdv: 12.12	466	
Overall Total	245/1148 (21.3%) stdv: 8.37	25/1148 (2.2%) stdv: 2.22	878/1148 (76.5%) stdv: 18.06	1148	
	p=0.2189	p=0.0009	p=0.2265		

The frequencies of the use of “como” to fulfill focus, quotative, and lexical functions vary among participants. The average frequency of the focus “como” is 10.2 occurrences with standard deviation of 8.37 while the average frequency of the quotative “como” is 1.0 occurrence with a standard deviation of 2.22. The average frequency of the lexical “como” is 36.6 occurrences with a standard deviation of 18.06. Female bilinguals use the focus “como” (12.9 occurrences; stdv: 8.96) and the quotative “como” (1.9 occurrences; stdv: 2.91) more frequently than male bilinguals (7.5 occurrences; stdv: 7.09 and .2 occurrences; stdv .38 respectively). Female bilinguals (42 occurrences; stdv: 21.70) also use the lexical “como” more frequently than male bilinguals (31.2 occurrences; stdv: 12.12). Although high standard deviations demonstrate variation in the use of the discursive “como” among participants, a Chi-Squared Test ($p= 0.0009$) confirms that female bilinguals use the quotative “como” more frequently than male bilinguals in the present corpus.

Overall, in the present corpus from the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona, the percentage of “como” to fulfill the focus discourse function is 21.3% (245/1148), the percentage of “como” used to fulfill the quotative discourse function is 2.1% (25/1148), and the percentage of “como” to fulfill a lexical function is 76.4% (878/1148). The following section compares the quantitative results of the present study in Southern Arizona to the results of previous studies of the discursive “como” in both bilingual and monolingual communities (Sánchez Muñoz, 2007; Said-Mohand, 2008; Jørgensen & Stenström, 2009).

4.3 The Comparison of the Use of “Como” in Southern Arizona and Other Communities

The comparison of the quantitative results of the present study in Southern Arizona to previous studies in other Spanish-English bilingual communities in Southern California (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2007) and Florida (Said-Mohand, 2008), and Spanish monolingual communities (Jørgensen & Stenström, 2009) must take into account the different methodologies present within each study. Although Sánchez-Muñoz (2007) did not collect data through sociolinguistic interviews, it is possible to compare the overall quantitative results in Southern Arizona and Southern California because the studies share the same methods of data analysis. Sánchez-Muñoz (2007) analyzed the use of the discursive “como” according to three registers: 1) class presentations in an academic setting; 2) formal interviews on controversial topics such as the war in Iraq, immigration, etc.; and 3) informal conversations recorded by the speakers themselves without the researcher present. The third register of informal conversations is most similar to the sociolinguistic interviews of the present study because of the comparable level of informality. Table 6 compares the quantitative results of the use of the focus and quotative “como” in the sociolinguistic interviews in Southern Arizona and the informal conversations in Southern California.

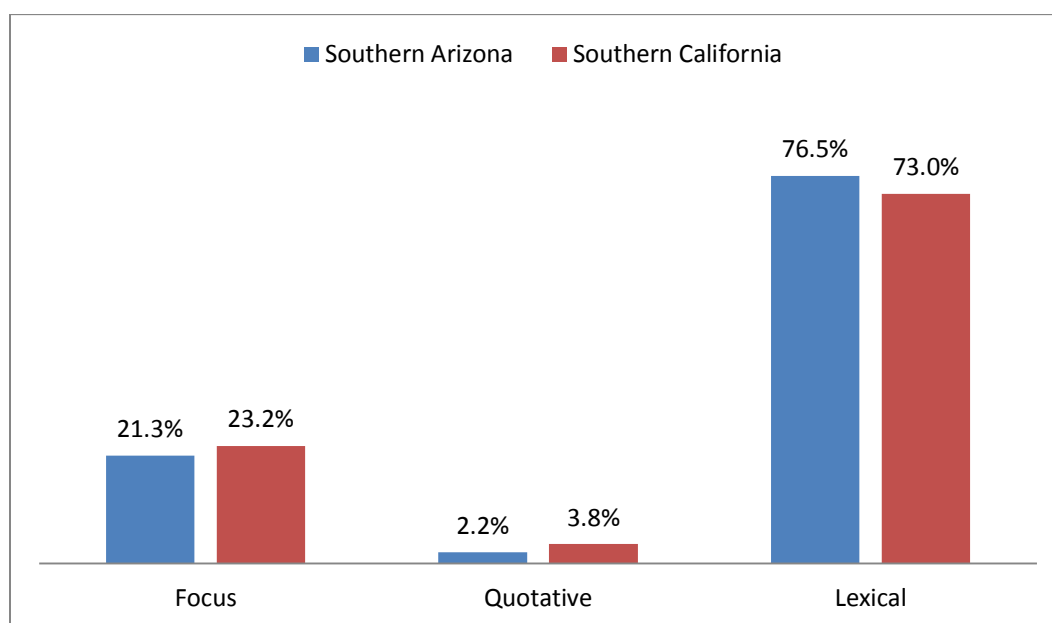
Table 6: The Comparison of the Use of the Focus, Quotative, and Lexical “Como” In Southern Arizona and Southern California (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2007)

Community	Focus	Quotative	Lexical
Southern Arizona	21.3%	2.2%	76.5%

Southern California (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2007)	23.2	3.8%	73.0%

Figure 2 illustrates these comparative results.

Figure 2: Comparison of the Use of the Focus, Quotative, and Lexical “Como” In Southern Arizona and Southern California (Sánchez-Muñoz, 2007)



The percentages of the frequency of the focus, quotative, and lexical “como” in Southern Arizona and Southern California are very similar, with young Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern California using the focus (23.2%) and quotative (3.8%) “como” slightly more frequently than young Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona (21.3% and 2.2% respectively).

Since Said-Mohand (2008) did not include lexical functions of “como” in his analysis, and he classified several lexical functions of “como” as discourse functions, it is not possible to compare the overall quantitative results of Southern Arizona and Florida. However, Said-Mohand (2008) found examples of both the focus and quotative “como” in the speech of young Spanish-English bilinguals in Florida. Moreover, the present study corroborates Said-Mohand’s conclusion that female bilinguals use the quotative “como” more frequently than male bilinguals.

The comparison of results within three Spanish-English bilingual communities in the United States suggests that the use of the discursive “como” may be becoming a trend in the Spanish of the United States. However, Jørgensen & Stenström (2009) have also found examples of the discursive “como” among young adolescents in Madrid. Although it is not possible to compare the overall results in Madrid and Southern Arizona because of the different methodologies of the studies, the documentation of the discursive “como” in a Spanish monolingual community suggests that the innovative discourse functions of “como” may not be the result of contact with English, but an internal change in Spanish as the result of grammaticalization that may be accelerated by or triggered from contact with English. By analyzing these studies together, it appears that the discursive “como” may be diffusing in the same way as the diffusion of the use of “like” as a discourse marker in English which was first detected in American English dialects (Underhill, 1988; Romaine and Lange, 1991) and subsequently spread to other English speaking countries (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004; Anderson, 2001; Miller, 2009).

4.4 Conclusion

The quantitative results of the use of the discursive “como” in Southern Arizona demonstrate that Spanish-English bilinguals are using “como” to fulfill the focus and quotative discourse functions of “like” in English. Female bilinguals seem to be using the discursive “como” more frequently than male bilinguals, yet the high standard deviations across the results suggest that there is variation among participants, and the discursive “como” is still in the process of diffusing. Since the discursive “como” has been documented in both contact and non-contact varieties, it appears that “como” has acquired discourse functions through grammaticalization that may be accelerated by or triggered from contact with English. Moreover, the discursive “como” appears to be spreading within and between communities along the same path as “like” in English. The following qualitative analysis zooms in the picture to explore how young Spanish-English bilinguals are using “como” to fulfill discourse functions borrowed from “like” in English.

5. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DISCURSIVE “COMO”

5.1 Introduction

Building upon the results of the quantitative analysis that demonstrates that the use of the discursive “como” is still diffusing within the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona, this chapter presents a qualitative analysis that illustrates how Spanish-English bilinguals are using “como” in Spanish to fulfill discourse functions borrowed from “like” in English. By analyzing examples from the present corpus, the qualitative analysis explores the possibility that the discursive “como” in Spanish has the potential to become a stylistic marker similar to “like” in English.

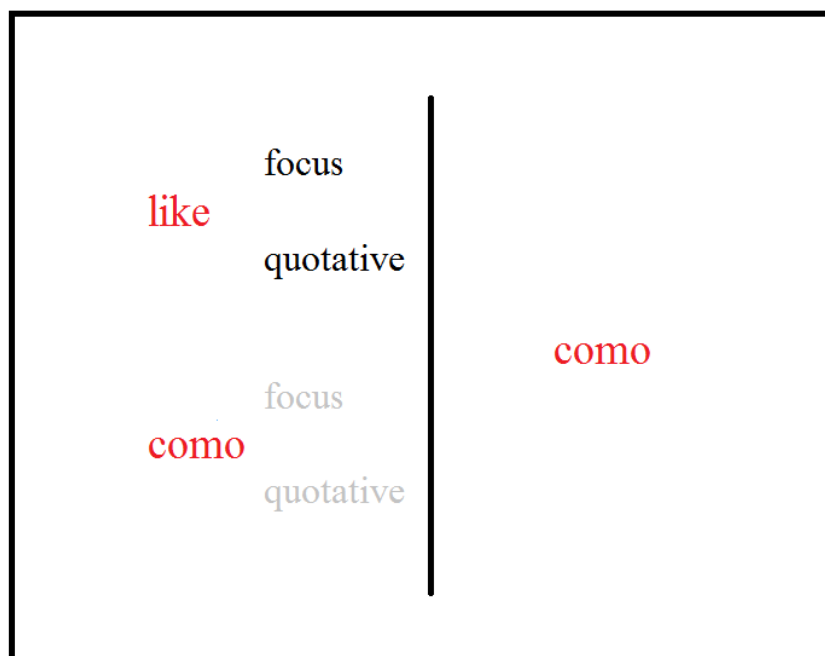
5.2 Bricolage

The innovative use of the discursive “como” in Southern Arizona reifies the process of stylistic practice outlined by Eckert (2008: 456-7) as a bricolage (Hebdige, 1979), or the fusion of “como” in Spanish with the discourse functions of “like” in English to create an even more complex and meaningful entity. Eckert (2000: 43) writes:

It is not always a matter of associating a linguistic form with an existing meaning, but to craft subtly new meaning through the innovative use of linguistic form. In this way, the construction of social meaning and the construction of language are one and the same.

Figure 3 illustrates the process of bricolage in the creation of the discursive “como.”

Figure 3: The Discursive “Como”



In the process of bricolage, the focus and quotative discourse functions of “like” in English attach to “como” in Spanish, which is the lexical equivalent of “like.” The diffusion of the focus and quotative discourse functions of “like,” with “como” in Spanish as their vehicle, illustrates Mendoza-Denton’s (2011: 263) concept of semiotic hitchhiking, which takes place “when a feature does not have its own vehicle and hitches a ride on another co-occurring vehicle to circulate and spread.” The results of the quantitative analysis demonstrate that the discursive “como” appears to be spreading by

following the same path as “like” in English. Beginning with Goffman’s concept of footing, the qualitative analysis explores if the discursive “como” may become a stylistic marker similar to “like” in English with examples from the present corpus.

5.3 Footing

Goffman (1979: 4) defines footing as “a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance.” Romaine & Lange (1991: 242) first identified examples of the use of the quotative “like” in English to establish footing by arguing that it allows speakers to repeat speech without the speech act. Some Spanish-English bilinguals in the present study are using the discursive “como” in Spanish to establish footing. In (17), a male bilingual talks about his experience in a high school Spanish class.

(17) P: Tienen un programa Fluent, español para fluent Spanish speakers, pero la maestra era muy mala. Hacíamos puro desmadre. Tirábamos cosas.

I: (laughter)

P: Y no, pues yo, yo me aplacaba. Yo era tranquilo, pero los demás eran muy desmadrosos y me quedaba allí sentado. Pero, sí leímos un libro. Lo que más, lo que más saqué de allí es leí un libro de español. **Como**, no más he leído **como** dos libros de español en mi vida. Son los “Diarios de la motocicleta” y uno que se llama “Cajas de cartón.” Lo leímos y me ayudó

con mi español obviamente. Y, no, es todo. ¿Qué aprendí mucho? No. Nada (24M21Y).

P: They have a program Fluent, Spanish for fluent Spanish speakers, but the teacher was really bad. We acted up in class. We threw things.

I: (laughter)

*P: And no, well, I, I, calmed myself. I was calm, but the others were immature, and I stayed there seated. But yes, we read a book. What I got most out of the class was I read a book in Spanish. **Like**, I have only read **like** two books in Spanish in my life. They are “Motorcycle Diaries” and one that is named “The Circuit.” We read it and it helped me with my Spanish obviously. And, no, that’s it. Did I learn a lot? No. Nothing.*

The male bilingual first establishes footing by stating that his high school Spanish teacher was bad and the students, including him, misbehaved in class and even threw things. Upon hearing this, his interlocutor who happens to be a Spanish teacher begins to laugh. In response, the male bilingual changes his footing and separates himself from the rest of the students, arguing that he was calm, but the rest of the students were mischievous.

Goffman (1979: 5) proposes that a change in footing is “another way of talking about a change in our frame for events.” The notion of frame originated in the field of psychology when Bateson (1955) surmised that play between monkeys could only be possible if both monkeys shared some form of metacommunication that carried the

message, “This is play,” that framed their interaction. Tannen and Wallat (1993: 59-60) define a frame as “what is going on in interaction, without which no utterance (or movement or gesture) could be interpreted.” According to Schriffrin (1993: 249-50), the sociolinguistic interview is a frame within which those being interviewed expect the sociolinguist to ask questions that they are to answer. Moreover, Schriffrin (1993: 259) argues that the identities of the interlocutors are also situated within this interaction. In the passage above, the laughter of the interviewer triggered a metacommunicative message of his identity as a Spanish teacher within the frame of the sociolinguistic interview. This caused the male bilingual to change his footing and separate himself from the rest of his classmates.

In the next sentence in the passage, the male bilingual takes his re-framing of the events in the classroom one step further and even shares a positive experience from the class with the interviewer, marking this new information with two examples of the focus “como.” The male bilingual uses the first focus “como” to say that he read a book in Spanish, and therefore highlights a positive outcome from the class in a discourse that is overwhelmingly negative. He employs the second focus “como” to emphasize that he has only read two books in Spanish, which he subsequently names. Utilizing these two examples of the focus “como,” the male bilingual manages the production and the reception of his utterance by drawing the attention of the interlocutor away from the negative aspects of the class to something that is more positive. Yet, he concludes by stating that although reading a book helped him with his Spanish, he ultimately did not learn anything in the class.

5.4 Stance

Goffman's concept of footing has recently been reincarnated in studies of stance, which Jaffe (2009: 3) defines as "taking up a position with respect to the form or content of one's utterance." Du Bois (2007: 163) writes:

Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

According to Jaffe (2009: 4), "stance is not transparent in either the linguistic or the sociolinguistic, but must be inferred from the empirical study of interactions in social and historical context." A stance of bilingual identity emerges in the following interaction with the male bilingual in (18).

- (18) Yo tengo dos identidades, yo aquí soy mexicano, me dicen mexicano, pero en México, me dicen gringo, pocho, así, y a veces es malo porque tú quieres saber el español bien, tú quieres mantener la cultura porque yo tengo orgullo de ser mexicano y trato de evitar de hablar el Spanglish, pero es muy difícil porque a veces que no sé qué lo estoy hablando porque como yo aprendí el español es un español fronterizo que a veces toma palabras en inglés o dichos en inglés y los convierte en español como tirar una fiesta, throw a party (24M21Y).

I have two identities, Here I am Mexican, they call me Mexican, but in Mexico, they call me gringo, pocho, like that, and sometimes it is bad because you want to know Spanish well, you want to respect the culture because I am proud to be Mexican, and I try to avoid speaking Spanglish, but it's very difficult because sometimes I don't know what I am speaking because how I learned borderland Spanish that sometimes take words in English or sayings in English and convert them into Spanish like tirar una fiesta, throw a party.

In (18), the male bilingual states that he has two identities. In Southern Arizona, people call him Mexican, but in Mexico they call him gringo or pocho. These two identities are reflected in his Spanish, which he names borderland Spanish that sometimes takes words or sayings in English and converts them into Spanish. The discursive “como” reifies these two identities because it is comprised of a Spanish word with English discourse functions.

By using the discursive “como,” Spanish-English bilinguals may index a stance of bilingual identity. A male uses the focus “como” in (19) to emphasize that he speaks Spanish, but he has never studied the grammar.

(19) Pues yo **como** yo hablo español, pero yo nunca he estudiado **como** la gramática. (24M21Y)

*Well I **like** I speak Spanish, but I never have studied **like** the grammar.*

Another male bilingual uses the quotative “como” in (20) to relay his internal speech correcting himself when he catches himself codeswitching because he believes he should be using one language or the other.

- (20) En mi opinión no me gusta eso de cuando combinas un...yo a veces lo hago, pero es, lo hago por ya que estoy acostumbrado a escucharlo y que se te queda, y a veces lo digo y me quedo como que me corrijo a mí mismo y que “no digas eso.” El tipo de que estás hablando y “No, fijate” que “fui al car” **como** que, “Oye, espérame que estás mezclando dos lenguajes, es uno o el otro.” Pues si (14M19N).

*In my opinion, I do not like when you combine a...I sometimes do it, but I do it because I am used to hearing it and it stays with you, and sometimes I say it and I'm left correcting myself saying “Don't say that,” When you are speaking and” No, Pay attention,” that “fui al car” **like** “Hey, wait, you are mixing two languages, it is one or the other.*

A female bilingual also uses the quotative “como” in (20) to express her internal feeling that she must consciously think about speaking Spanish because she has become accustomed to using English.

- (21) Soy, creo que soy muy pocha a veces porque, no sé, me entran las ideas en inglés y las tengo que decir en español o me entran las ideas en español, pero me salen en inglés, entonces es muy, hay como un flux no sé, de ideas siempre. Entonces creo que me comunico más en inglés porque estoy acostumbrada de siempre usar el inglés también porque cuando vine aquí no directamente estudié el español, o sea, no fue mi primer, eh, like my first choice. Pero estudié otras cosas y todo lo tuve que hacer en inglés entonces me ha acostumbrado tanto usar el inglés que necesito usar el español más así como, no sé. Lo tengo que pensar muy bien, así **como** que “Ok Ahorita voy a hablar en español y voy a seguir hablando en español y voy a tratar de no, no usar el inglés tanto.” Y it has for me. Tengo que estar en **como** en lo consciente. Lo tengo que pensar mucho (6F25N).

I am, I think I am very pocha sometimes, because, I don't know, my ideas are in English, but I have to say them in Spanish, or my ideas are in Spanish, but they come out in English, so it is very, there is always like a flux, I don't know, of ideas. So I think that I communicate more in English because I am accustomed to always using English, but also because when I came here, I didn't directly study Spanish, so, it wasn't my first, like my first choice. But I studied other things, and everything had to do with English, so I became so accustomed to using English that I need to use Spanish more, so, I don't know. I need to think about it a lot, like “Ok.

*Now I am going to Speak in Spanish and I am going to continue speaking in Spanish, and I am going to try to no use English so much.” And it has for me, I have to be **like** conscious about it. I have to think about it a lot.*

5.5 Style

Closely related to the concept of stance, Kiesling (2009: 191) argues that style is created through habitual stancetakings. Eckert (2000: 41) defines style as “a tangible means of negotiating one’s meaning in the world.” A young female bilingual uses the focus “como” in (22) to express that she believes that the contact between Spanish and English is beautiful because it demonstrates her two cultures and how she can be American but also have her Mexican culture behind her or side by side.

- (22) No más es un modo de ser, **como**, quiero decir que es algo bonito porque enseña tus dos culturas, **como** enseña que yo, yo puedo ser americana, pero también tengo mi cultura mexicana detrás de mí o lado a lado (8F18T).

*It is a way of being, **like**, I want to say that it is something beautiful because it demonstrates your two cultures, **like** it demonstrates that I, I can be American, but I also have my Mexican culture behind me or side by side.*

Although Spanish-English bilinguals are not consciously aware that they are using the discursive “como,” studies with phonological variables including /aw/ monophthongization (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008), falsetto (Podesva, 2007), vowel shifts (Podesva, 2011), Th-Pro (Mendoza-Denton, 2006) and creaky voice (Mendoza-Denton, 2011) demonstrate how linguistic forms can index a group of people or a persona even if speakers are not aware that they are using a form innovatively. Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) argue that /aw/ monophthongization indexes the English variety of Pittsburghese, even though Pittsburgh speakers do not realize that the form is local to Pittsburgh. Podesva (2007, 2011) argues that the use of the falsetto and vowel shifts by gay men index a “diva” or “partier” persona. Mendoza-Denton (2006) proposes that the Th-Pro represents an ethnic marker of latina gang members and in 2011, she chronicles how creaky voice spread through *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas* videogames to become associated with a “hardcore Chicano gangster” persona.

The use of the discursive “como” is most closely related to the use of “dude” in English (Kiesling, 2004) and “güey” in Spanish (Bucholtz, 2009) by young men to index a stance of “cool solidarity.” On “dude,” Kiesling (2004: 282) writes:

Masculine solidarity and heterosexism thus delimit a narrow range of ratified, dominant, and hegemonic relationships between American men, since masculine solidarity implies closeness with other men, while heterosexism entails nonintimacy with other men. *Dude* allows men to create a stance within this narrow range, one of closeness with other men (satisfying masculine solidarity) that also maintains a casual stance that keeps some distance (thus satisfying heterosexism).

In the same way as the phonological variables outlined above, the use of “dude” indexes the group of speakers who use it, especially members of fraternities. Agha (2007: 55) denotes “enregisterment” as the “process whereby diverse behavioral signs (whether linguistic, non-linguistic, or both) are functionally reanalyzed as cultural models of actions, as behaviors capable of indexing stereotypic characteristics of incumbents of particular interactional roles, and of relationships among them.” The process of enregisterment for “dude” has spanned three decades. Popularized in movies such as *Fast Times of Ridgemont High*, Kiesling (2004: 299-300) argues that “dude” originated in the subculture of “slackers” who rebelled against careerism in the 1980s and was later adopted by skaters and surfers as an expression of nihilism in the 1990s. The equivalent of “dude” in Spanish, “guey” (Bucholtz, 2009) has had a shorter span of enregisterment. Bucholtz (2009: 160-1) argues that “güey” was popularized in a Coors Light advertisement in Spanish modeled after the popular Budweiser “Whassup?” commercial during the 2000 Super Bowl.

As a function word, the discursive “como” is not as salient or prompt to enregisterment as lexical items such as “dude” or “güey.” Moreover, the discursive “como” has not become popularized through media and popular culture for others in the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona or in Spanish monolingual communities on the other side of the border to associate it stereotypically with Spanish-English bilinguals. Although Spanish-English bilinguals use the discursive “como” to index a stance of bilingual identity, I argue that the discursive “como” does not index the Spanish-English bilinguals who use it. Consequently, Spanish-English bilinguals may

simultaneously belong to the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona and the Spanish monolingual community on the other side of the border.

5.6 Place

A female bilingual uses the focus “como” in (23) to emphasize that her friends are Mexican although they do not speak or understand Spanish and argues that language expresses the most about her identity.

- (23) Tengo amigos, muchos amigos que son **como** mexicanos, pero no les gusta hablar el español o ni entienden y cosas así. Y a mi no, o sea, yo creo que el lenguaje es la cosa que te trae más a ti, de donde eres, o sea, no me pudiera comunicar con mi abuela o con toda mi familia que viene de México (5F20N).

*I have friends, many friends who are **like** Mexicans, but they do not like speaking Spanish or don't even understand and things like that. And for me, no. I believe that language is the thing that most brings you to you, where you are from, I couldn't communicate with my grandmother or with all of my family that comes from Mexico.*

Blommaert (2005: 223) writes:

People speak from a place. Given the deep connections between forms of language and particular places, the use of specific varieties ‘sets’ people in a particular social and/or physical place, so to speak, and confers the attributive qualities of that place to what they say.

The discursive “como,” which combines a Spanish word with English discourse functions, may set these Spanish-English bilinguals in-between the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona and the Spanish monolingual community on the other side of the border. Perhaps a female bilingual says it best in (24).

(24) I: ¿Cómo te identificas?

P: Soy americana porque tengo, tengo citizenship. ¿No? **Like** aquí nació. Mi cultura, mi familia casi todos son mexicanos y son mexicanos de todo. Son mexicanos mestizos. Son mexicanos a lo mejor y somos un poquito de todo, entonces soy de los dos. Mi mamá she’s half, **like** half and half, **like** right down the middle. Y ella está completamente like two different cultures también, white and Mexican, like two different almost distant polar things. Pero mi mamá, ella se considera mexicana.

I: Y tú?

P: Yo pues soy americana porque estoy aquí, pero culturalmente mexicana porque soy de la frontera porque sí mi familia es mexicana. Mi papá es mexicano. El creció en Sonora y luego se vino a los Estados Unidos cuando era niño. No sé. Mi papa ni terminó high school creo, a lo mejor sí, no me acuerdo. Pero mexicana, culturalmente mexicana y americanizada.

Tengo muchos gustos americanos so de los dos. No sé. **Como** que no puedo negar ninguno.

I: How do you identify yourself?

*P: I am American because I have citizenship. No? **Like** I was born here. My culture, my family, almost all of them, are Mexicans and they are Mexicans of everything. They are Mexicans of mixed heritage. They are basically Mexicans and we are a little bit of everything, so I am from both. My mother, she's half, like half and half, like right down the middle. And she is completely like two different cultures also, white and Mexican, like two different almost distant polar things. But my mom, she considers herself Mexican.*

I: And you?

*P: I, well, I am American because I am here, but culturally Mexican because I am from the border, because yes my family is Mexican. My father is Mexican. He grew up in Sonora and later came to the United States when he was a boy. I don't know. My father did not even finish high school, I believe, maybe he did, I don't remember. But I am Mexican, culturally Mexican and Americanized. I have many American tastes, so from both. **Like** I can't deny either.*

“Soy de los dos.” “I am from both.”

5.7 Conclusion

The qualitative analysis of the present corpus with examples of footing stance, style and place, illustrates that “como” has the potential to become a stylistic marker similar to “like” in English. Nevertheless, and without question, the discursive “como” is not “stylistically deployed” (Brinton, 1990: 46-7). Although the discursive “como” has not yet enregistered to index the speakers who use it, it may in the future as it continues to diffuse within and between communities.

6. CONCLUSION

Previous studies of discourse markers in bilingual communities have concluded that bilinguals not only borrow content words from their linguistic repertoires but also function words (Hill & Hill, 1986; Brody, 1987, 1993). The analysis of borrowed function words adds depth to the study of language contact in bilingual communities because it sheds light on how borrowings can contribute to the cohesion of a discourse. The present investigation in the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona illustrates how some young bilinguals use “como” in Spanish to fulfill the focus and quotative discourse functions borrowed from “like” in English. These results of language transfer at the discourse-level add to our knowledge of how bilinguals draw from both languages when structuring bilingual discourse.

The quantitative analysis of the present study expands the previous research of the discursive “como” in both bilingual and monolingual communities to the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona. In a data set of 1148 occurrences of “como,” the rate of the use of the focus “como” per participant is 21.3%, the rate of the quotative “como” is 2.2%, and the rate of the lexical “como” is 76.5%. Although standard deviations are high across results and there are few participants, a Chi-Squared test ($p=.0009$) demonstrates that female bilinguals use the quotative “como” more frequently than male bilinguals.

Since the use of “como” as a discourse marker has been documented in both contact and non-contact varieties of Spanish, the discursive “como” is most likely the

result of grammaticalization either accelerated by or triggered from contact with English. The variation of the use of “como” as a discourse marker among participants in the present corpus suggests that the discursive “como” is still diffusing within the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona and between communities. The diffusion of the discursive “como” appears to be following the same path as the diffusion of the use of “like” as a discourse marker in English, which was first detected in American English dialects and subsequently documented in other English-speaking countries.

The qualitative analysis of the present study explores how young Spanish-English bilinguals use “como” in Spanish as a discourse marker to fulfill discourse functions borrowed from “like” in English. Examples from the present corpus suggest that the discursive “como” has the potential to become a stylistic marker similar to “like” in English. The discursive “como” represents a bricolage or the fusion of a Spanish word with English discourse functions to create a more complex and meaningful entity. Moreover, some young Spanish-English bilinguals use the discursive “como” to establish footing. The use of the discursive “como” may index a stance of bilingual identity and permit young Spanish-English bilinguals to belong simultaneously to the Spanish-English bilingual community of Southern Arizona and the monolingual Spanish community on the other side of the border. Although the discursive “como” has not yet enregistered to index those who use it, it may in the future, as it continues to travel both within and between communities.

A future investigation will include a qualitative analysis of the few examples of “like” in English in the present Spanish-only corpus by using the framework of Muysken (2000) to explore “like” insertion and the use of “like” in alternations. It is hoped that the analysis of codeswitching will uncover why young Spanish-English bilinguals choose “like” in English or the discursive “como” in Spanish when constructing bilingual discourse. Another future study will analyze the use of “como” in quotative contexts by following the variationist methodology of Tagliamonte (2012). Although it is not possible to quantify the use of the focus “como” using this methodology because the syntactic positions where the focus “como” may appear are unknown, a variationist study of quotative contexts will quantify the degree that the quotative “como” has become incorporated in the speech of young Spanish-English bilinguals. Although there are few examples of the quotative “como” in the present corpus and not all of the participants use it, it is hoped that this analysis will confirm that young Spanish-English bilinguals are using the quotative “como” to introduce internal speech more than reported speech, which follows the same pattern as the quotative “like” in English. This would lend further support to the hypothesis that the diffusion of the discursive “como” in Spanish is following the same path as the diffusion of the use of “like” as discourse marker in English.

The present study provides a snapshot of a specific example of linguistic change in a specific community at a specific point in time, yet the results contribute to the big picture of how language is dynamic and constantly changing. Our knowledge of the diffusion the use of “like” as a discourse marker in English comes not from one study but

many over a period of two decades. It is not known whether the discursive “como” will continue to follow the same path as “like” in English and spread to even more communities or if it will enregister to become a stylistic marker. Nevertheless, “como” in Spanish is changing and the innovative uses of “como” are traveling. “Como” is in commute.

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